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AUTHOR	Photiadis, John; Maurer, B. B.
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ABSTRACT

A cluster sample of 1,300 male adults from the State of West Virginia stratified in terms of community size, region (north or south, mining or nonmining), and socioeconomic status were surveyed via questionnaire to determine their feelings about selected sociopsychological issues. Classified in terms of size, seven communities were involved in the analysis of respondents' attitudes toward nine "styles of life preferences" relative to family, religion, work, education, friendship, material comfort, recreation, achievement, and outdoor living. Respondents from the two most urban communities placed a higher value on life in line with work, material comfort, and recreation, while the smaller communities valued life in line with religion. The question which distinguished the five smaller communities from the larger ones was one suggesting that "the world is soon coming to an end", an indicator of sectarian tendencies. While a larger proportion of respondents from the smaller communities were church participants, participation patterns did not necessarily constitute belief patterns. Alienation was greater among respondents from the smaller communities, as they expressed a stronger desire to be like the outside world, were more bewildered and confused about modern society, and saw more problems and fewer solutions than respondents from the two more urban communities. (JC)

COMMUNITY SIZE AND SOCIAL ATTRIBUTES IN WEST VIRGINIA

by john photiadis

in cooperation with

b. b. maurer

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Research Report 5

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Summary and Conclusions

This bulletin gives the reader some insight on how West Virginians, in Appalachia, living in communities of different sizes, feel about selected sociopsychological issues. Theoretical implications of uniformities in behavior are also examined.

A cluster sample of 1300 male adults from the State of West Virginia, stratified in terms of community size, region of the state (north-south, mining-nonmining) and socio-economic status was used. Classified in terms of size, seven communities were involved in the analysis: Charleston, Morgantown Beckley, Keyser, small towns in Mineral and Hardy counties, and open country Raleigh County. Charleston and Morgantown have distinct urban characteristics, while open country Raleigh county has more distinct rural Appalachian attributes.

Nine "styles of life preferences" were examined; four of these distinguish larger from smaller communities. As with most of the findings, the distinction is based on a dichotomy between the two more urban and the remaining five types of communities. More specifically, respondents from Charleston and Morgantown tend to place a higher value on life in line with work, material comfort and recreation, while the smaller communities tend to value more a life in line with religion. In terms of rank order, of the nine "styles of life," family life was the first choice, and life in line with religion the second for respondents from the two larger communities.

The reverse was true among respondents from the five smaller communities who not only rank religion higher as a preferred style of life, but also rank it higher in a scale measuring orthodox Christian belief. The question which distinguished the five smaller from the two larger communities is one suggesting that "the world is soon coming to an end," an indicator of sectarian tendencies. Besides such tendencies, a larger proportion of respondents from the five smaller communities are actual members of sectarian churches. Differences in relation to church participation do not follow exactly the pattern beliefs do. Although considerably smaller proportion of respondents from Charleston and Morgantown as compared to respondents from other types of communities are strong believers, when it comes to church participation they are as frequent participants as others and as a matter of fact participate considerably more frequently then people in Raleigh County who are by far the stronger believers of all.

Concerning income, small towners more than those from larger towns use for comparison the people in the Appalachian region. But all communities tend to use "the people they associate with," "their community," and "people from the U.S.," for comparison much in the same way. The exception is the most rural Southern Appalachian open country Raleigh County where the local community is the main reference group.

Residents of larger communities have higher incomes and higher levels of living. The items which distinguish the larger from smaller communities are: automatic washing machine, dryer, wall to wall carpet, air conditioning, second car, and color T.V. The differences in communication items such as daily newspapers, telephone, and black and white television are much smaller.

Although respondents from the five smaller communities feel more strongly that "the Appalachian region is the place where you can be happy even if you don't have much" they also have stronger desires to see Appalachia be like the rest of the country in terms of education, habits, customs, and attitudes, but even more want to see the region have the same income and businesslike attitudes as the rest of the country.

The stronger desire to be like the outside world and the lower income and level of living which are associated with smaller communities (along with lack of means for raising them) could be the reason for the higher alienation of the small towner which the data indicate. People in the five small towns are more bewildered and confused about modern society, see more problems and fewer possible solutions than those from the two more urban centers.

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Respondents from smaller towns and in particular those from the more typical Southern Appalachian Raleigh County, mistrust government officials more than respondents from the rest of the communities.

Along with higher alienation in the smaller communities (which we justified in terms of inability to meet societal expectations for higher income and level of living) there is a stronger need to use religion (in particular sectarian) and primary groups, such as kinship and friendship groups, to alleviate anxieties produced by inability to fulfill societal expectations. As compared to the larger two communities, residents of the smaller ones tend more than primary groups to use religion as a buffer against the outside world.

People from the two larger communities not only have fewer sociopsychological problems but also feel much healthier physically than those from the smaller communities. The same is true concerning the way one perceives his physical health in comparison to that of others of the same age. In Charleston about 36 percent of the respondents feel that their health is excellent, about 52 percent feel it is good, and only about one percent feel that their health is either poor or very poor. In open country Raleigh County, on the other hand, only about 12 percent feel that their health is excellent, about 34 percent good, and about 28 percent feel that their health is either poor or very poor.

In spite of the fact that people in smaller communities have more sociopsychological and health problems, they appear to find means to alleviate anxieties which these and other problems produce, since the data do not reveal any significant differences as to satisfaction with life among respondents from the seven different types of communities. This includes job, ability to do the things one wants to do, family life, life one's community can offer, life the Appalachian region can offer, and even economic conditions.

Smaller and larger communities are different in attitudes about social issues. In spite of the fact that the same number of respondents from all communities agree that public relief hurts the American way of life, smaller communities tend to have more favorable attitudes toward welfare programs in general. Concerning opinions as to why, in spite of all available programs, some people remain in poverty, respondents from smaller communities, (and in particular respondents from open country Raleigh County) as compared to Charleston, tend to emphasize poor health or lack of desire for work as the major reason for remaining poor.

Although respondents from smaller communities have less education, there are no important differences among the seven types of communities concerning favorable attitudes toward education in general. Those from smaller towns feel more strongly that high school courses are not practical enough, but they also feel more strongly than those from larger communities that high school courses help the individual think for himself.

Finally, respondents from the smaller communities have less favorable attitudes toward taxes. They want taxes reduced much more, and are much less satisfied than those from larger communities with the way taxes are spent.

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COMMUNITY SIZE AND SOCIAL ATTRIBUTES IN WEST VIRGINIA

PART I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to give the reader some insight on how West Virginians, and probably other Appalachians, living in communities of different sizes, feel about selected social and socio-psychological issues. In addition to this more or less applied type of information, the report examines, in the light of the applied data, uniformities in behavior associated with more theoretical implications. More specifically, the purpose here is to give the reader: (1) some insight into style-of-life preferences; religious beliefs and participation; attitudes towards welfare, education, and taxes; alienation; the need to alleviate anxieties produced by modern changes; physical health; and finally, satisfaction with life; and (2) a notion of more theoretical patterns of social behavior, such as those dealing with the nature of incorporation of the rural part of West Virginia, and of rural Appalachia in general, into the larger society, and some of the consequences of this incorporation.

To point out how community size could be treated as a dimension, and before we discuss some of the theoretical notions which underlie the empirical data presented in the second part of the bulletin, we will discuss common types of data analysis which are suitable for the study of communities of varying sizes. In the light of this description we will point out the type of analysis we follow here.

1. Types of Community Analysis in Terms of Size:

There are at least four different ways of examining communities in relation to a dimension like size: (1) through a comparison of what we call the "ideal types" of communities; (2) through the "trait-complex" type of analysis; (3) through an analysis based on a continuum; and (4) through an analysis based on the "rural-urban dichotomy."

In the case of "ideal types" we examine communities of different sizes on the basis of all the important characteristics known to be associated with communities of a particular kind. For instance, we compare communities on the basis of abstract characteristics known to be associated with the small rural community in general. The opposite would be true if we were interested in analyzing urban communities. The ideal urban community which we would have used as a basis for comparison would have, in abstract form, all the characteristics one might find in general descriptions of urban communities. In the analysis of ideal types, it is not necessary that we examine or compare extreme communities, such as the very rural or the very urban, or that we examine communities on the basis of the same characteristics.

Examination, however, on the basis of similar characteristics of the same variables is necessary in the trait-complex type of analysis, the second of the four types of analysis we mentioned above. In this case we compare communities of various sizes on the basis of selected individual variables, which are usually related to each other in a meaningful way. For all these variables, size might be assumed to be the underlined casual factor. Furthermore, along with the examined traits there are other more basic variables which are related to size; for example: homogeneity of population, types of interaction patterns favored by the particular size of the community, the isolation of the community, and possibly the physical make-up of the surrounding area.

The third type of approach which we could use in the comparison of communities of various sizes is what we call analysis on the basis of a continuum. This approach deals with the testing of hypotheses by employing variations in selected variables that occur in accordance with changes on a continuum. For instance, the more we move towards one end of the continuum, the more a characteristic is hypothesized as changing in intensity. A requirement for this type of analysis is that all communities included in our sample have similar basic attributes; for instance we should not include suburban small communities along with rural farm communities.[1]

In those cases in which we cannot assume that our main variable, for instance community size, is a continuum but in which we want to test hypotheses in the manner we would have used by employing the notion of the continuum, we use what we call a dichotomy. Concerning community size, incorporating the notion of the ideal type with that of the dichotomy, we could have two ideal types of rural and urban communities; on the one hand, the rural community or peasant community, or Redfield's "simple community," and on the other hand, the ideal urban community, (that is, the community that possesses all the abstract attributes which are mentioned as typical characteristics of cities.[2] One difference between the "dichotomy" analysis and the "ideal type" analysis is that in the former the same traits should be examined in both communities. With these traditional types of analysis in mind, let us see whether recent rapid societal changes might make their application different.

2. Study of Community Size in the Light of Modern Changes

Concerning all four types of approaches we described above, recent drastic societal changes have made the analysis in terms of size in some ways less meaningful. Even a few decades ago the application of any of the four forms of classifications was possible without much chance of error. Today, if we were to consider only processes such as the rural-urban migration or the flight to the fringe of the cities, one can understand that dramatic changes have altered traditional notions, such as the rural-urban continuum or dichotomy. Still, in spite of such changes, analysis in relation to community size remains meaningful because a number of the constants which in the past determined the differences along a continuum or a dichotomy still exist. Some such characteristics are population density, homogeneity to a considerable extent, the physical

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environment, and isolation, which are all constants able to produce interaction patterns and in turn social systems of a different nature. What has, however, changed in recent years, is that a number of additional intervening variables have entered the picture. Therefore, if we are to examine the rural-urban dimension in terms of, say, a continuum, it has become necessary to take these intervening variables under consideration in some way. In the present study an example of such consideration is the separate treatment of small communities in Mineral and Raleigh Counties. Raleigh County, located at the southern part of the state of West Virginia, is a mining county with many characteristics described in studies of rural communities. The other, Mineral County, is located in the northern part of the state; it is close to a small industrial town, and has some industry of its own. The presence of industry or employment opportunities, as is the case for small communities in Mineral County, does not only make it different from the point of view of income, but also from the point of view of its impact on the dependence of one individual – in the family for instance – on the other, which is influenced by the extent of employment opportunities available. Still, and in spite of some significant differences in the nature of the two counties, as data presented further in this bulletin indicate, in some respects rural communities in Mineral and Raleigh Counties are similar and in other respects different from each other. But more so they are both in many respects different from larger communities.

In spite of such obstacles in analysis and for a number of other reasons, there is an increasing need for action agencies to approach audiences on the basis of distinct subgroups; size remains important as a factor. But what has often become necessary in recent years is the need to use, instead of one, a combination of the four types of analysis we described in this bulletin. More specifically, what we initially intended to use here was a combination of a cluster of traits and the ideal continuum type of analysis. The nature of the findings, however, suggested that in addition to these two methods, the use of a dichotomy as a means of analysis should also be used.

3. Methodology

This study is only part of a larger survey whose purpose was to ascertain social and sociopsychological attributes of selected segments of the population of the State of West Virginia. By studying communities in terms of size, we believe we are exploring significant and distinct segments of the state's population which are important from the point of view of policy making. An already completed part of the larger study deals with West Virginia migrants in Cleveland, returned migrants, and people of the same age and education who never migrated.[3]

The overall hypothesis of this study is that rural communities, which have functioned as semi-autonomous social systems in the past, are now increasingly becoming incorporated into the larger society and that, because of the rapidity of this incorporation, severe personal and social and economic dislocations exist today in small communities.

The data have been collected through a questionnaire which was administered to male adults only. The variables that are treated in the study are briefly described in the particular part of this bulletin in which they are examined; they are described in more detail in previous publications in which the same data have been used.[4]

The sample includes approximately 1300 respondents and was selected on the basis of the following criteria: "(a) size of community; (b) region of the state (mining and non-mining, northern and southern part of the state); and (c) socioeconomic status. Thus, two counties, Mineral and Hardy, were selected from the northern part of the state, and one county, Raleigh, from the southern part of the state. In each county communities were selected on the basis of size. Inside these communities, and for smaller communities in particular, the nth household was interviewed. For larger communities a stratified cluster sample based on socioeconomic status was drawn. Thus, the town of Keyser, Mineral County, was divided into nine segments representing five different socioeconomic strata. For each socioeconomic stratum one segment was retained, and the nth household in this segment was marked for interview. In addition to these three counties a similar but more elaborate procedure was followed to interview respondents in the cities of Charleston and Morgantown. In the case of Charleston, nineteen segments representing eight different socioeconomic strata were selected. In some of these segments the nth block and in each block the nth household were selected for interview. Thus, besides open country and very small towns, the following towns were included in the sample: Piedmont and Keyser, Mineral County (population 2,000 and 6,192, respectively); Beckley, Raleigh County (population 18,642); Morgantown, Monongalia County (population 22,487); and Charleston, Kanawha County, (population 85,796)."[5]

4. Theoretical Background

As we mentioned before, there are a number of constants, such as isolation and homogeneity, which, despite modern changes, remain as much distinct attributes of communities of a particular size, as they were in the past. Let us take, for instance, the factor of "homogeneity." Many of those who live in very small communities or open country were born there. It is possible that in counties such as Mineral, which has some industry, there are a number of people who came from the outside, but most probably the majority of these people were born in similar types of communities, and are people who like the open spaces and the style of life of the small community. In other words, they probably tend to have values similar to those living in small communities. Not only in terms of values but in terms of socio-economic characteristics, rural communities tend to be more homogeneous. In most cases, in almost every state there are lower incomes among people who live in rural non-suburban counties. Type of occupa-

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tion is another characteristic which increases homogeneity and differentiates small from larger communities. For instance, in small communities there is a considerable proportion of farmers, who are engaged in a type of occupation which is associated with a distinct style of life and a distinct type of family background of those who practice it.

What we have just mentioned are some constants which could account for visible differences between people living in smaller and larger communities. What, however, might be more crucial from the theoretical point of view, concerning differences between smaller and larger communities, is that constants, such as homogeneity and isolation, produce interaction patterns of a particular kind and in turn the development of social systems of a particular nature. For instance, in small communities face to face relationships and more frequent interaction among the same people who in turn tend to be more similar in background, and less interaction in formal type organizations, to mention just a few, are important differences in the nature of interaction patterns that constants such as homogeneity and isolation can produce.

Furthermore, the distinct type of social system which is thus produced does not exist by itself but in accord with a compatible personality system. In small communities we have primarily individuals who are born there; and even if they have moved from the outside, they usually have been socialized in social systems of more or less similar nature. Furthermore, interaction is not only exercised more among people of similar personalities, but it is also more frequent among these same people. Therefore, basic personality attributes, such as value orientation, tend to be more similar. As community size increases, the factors we are examining here also tend to change. But, as the present study and relevant studies elsewhere indicate, not all correlations of the factors we have just mentioned follow the size continuum in the form of a perfect linear correlation. A typical example are the middle size communities, which tend to have more conservative individuals than either larger or smaller communities.[6] This difference in conservatism, on the other hand, could be explained in relation to the nature of interaction patterns which are produced by size itself. For instance, when the community is very small, people get to know each other very well, and certain, even severe, deviancies are often accepted. Typical in some small communities of Appalachia is the case of having a child before marriage. The same is true for very large communities where anonymity or loose acquaintance often becomes a favorable environment for deviancies. But in the middle size community we note enough differentiation to have diverse socioeconomic strata and also a number of other diverse groups to have intense social competition. At the same time in these middle-size communities (or large small communities) we have enough interaction and communication among members, often indirectly, so that there is relative awareness and involvement in the social system and its social organization and in turn effective normative patterns and relative integration.

Keeping in mind, then, that some of the constants, which tend to differentiate smaller from larger communities, remain, let us try to see briefly what has changed in the last few decades. As we mentioned in the beginning of this paper, the main force which has altered the nature of the small community is its incorporation into mass society (and along with it the absorption of smaller communities into the relatively larger trade centers). This socioeconomic incorporation has often created enough sociopsychological pressure on the villager to force him to migrate to the city regardless of his ability to adjust there. On the other hand, people with physical, sociopsychological and mental handicaps, who could either not afford to migrate or migrated and returned, are to be found in the very small communities. In other words, if we look only at the consequences of the process of out-migration, we could realize that those people who are left in the small communities are people who are different from those who lived a few decades ago. The same is true for returned migrants, because those people who come back usually have distinct characteristics and often cannot for one reason or another make it in the city. On the other hand, there are people who come back after they have acquired some skill in the city. But people of this kind often, at least in Appalachia, settle in medium or larger towns. Migration, therefore, has made small communities in many respects quite different from those of the past and also in many respects more distinctly different from larger communities.

With this background in mind, let us try to examine some of the differences in relation to community size and begin with the style of life people prefer.

PART II
FINDINGS

5. Preferences as to Ways of Life:

Values are basic components of our personality that are developed to a large extent during the early years of our life and change little during the rest of our life. Values are criteria which help us decide what is good and bad, right or wrong, important and unimportant, and desirable and undesirable. In other words, values are important criteria for making choices in our lives. Values play a role similar to attitudes, but they are more basic determinants of behavior, are more stable, and determine wider areas of behavior than attitudes or opinions. In the study of communities in relation to size, values are important because knowledge of the value orientation of the community gives us an understanding of the needs and motivations of people living there and, furthermore, of the things people in different size communities see as right and wrong, and as desirable. From a theoretical point of view, values are

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important because they offer the basis for the nature and integration of any social system and therefore of the community as well.

What we deal with under this subheading is not values *per se* but, because the measurement of values usually requires extensive elaboration, we deal only with what we call "preferences as to way of life," which are only indicators and close correlaries of underlined corresponding values.

In measuring preferences as to ways of life, respondents were asked to rank according to their preference three different sets of nine questions, each dealing with a different way of life. The nine ways of life examined in the study are those in line with: religion, family, work, education, friendship, material comfort, achievement, recreation, and outdoor living.[7]

In Table I we present a comparison of the seven types of communities we use for our analysis in relation to four "preferences as to ways of life" which seem to differentiate the seven communities more than the remaining five.

A life in line with religion is preferred more by medium and small size communities, in contrast to Charleston and Morgantown, the more urban type communities, where only 51 and 47 per cent respectively have high scores in preferring religion as a style of life. It is quite probable that socioeconomic status, one aspect of which is education, might be an intervening factor determining these differences. The opposite appears to be true concerning the value of work. Smaller and medium size communities value less a style of life that emphasizes hard work, as compared to Charleston and Morgantown where about 71 per cent and 65 per cent of the respondents respectively have high scores in valuing this type of life. Here again it is quite probable that the type of occupation which, as we said, is associated with community size might also influence differences among such communities.

Charleston and Morgantown also value more than medium and small size communities a style of life based on material conveniences. The proportion of those from Charleston and Morgantown with high scores are about 77 percent and 60 percent respectively.

A similar pattern to that of life emphasizing work and material conveniences exists in relation to life emphasizing recreation. Recreation in this case refers primarily to organized activities and not informal associations, such as friendship.

What is more generally noticeable in Table 1 is that there is a definite dichotomy between the two more urban centers, Charleston and Morgantown, and the rest of the communities. Among the latter and in relation to all four values there are no noticeable differences (see the five columns at the right side of Table 1). Morgantown, which is not much different from Beckley in size but has more urban attributes – to an extent due to the fact that West Virginia University is located there, and due to its proximity to the city of Pittsburgh – is much more similar to Charleston in terms of style of life preferences than to Beckley.

In Table 2 the ways of life preferences are also examined in terms of size, but here a simple rank order of preferred styles of life is used for all nine ways of life preferences. This table indicates that for Charleston and Morgantown, family life ranks first and religion second. The opposite is true for the remaining five smaller communities where "life in line with religion" ranks uniformly first and "family life" second. The same dichotomy exists in relation to the third in rank way of life preference, which for the two larger centers is work, while for all other smaller communities education is the third in rank. A style of life in line with education in turn ranks fourth for the two larger centers, while for the smaller communities the fourth is friendship. For the larger centers the fifth in rank "way of life" is one where friendship is important while for all other communities it is work.

A life in line with material comforts is the sixth in rank value for most communities (Table 2). It is also the first value up to this point in which there is no difference between the two larger and the remaining smaller communities. Material comfort along with economic achievement, we should be reminded, are considered the themes of the American culture. As a consequence, it is natural that integration of smaller communities into the larger society should primarily be attained on the basis of behavior dealing with a theme of the larger culture. A style of life where one is interested in "achievement" ranks seventh for the larger two communities and eighth or ninth for the smaller communities, among which there is no pattern.

Differences in "preferences as to ways of life" are not striking; after all, small and large towns are all parts of the same larger society which nowadays uses more or less the same highly effective mass media to educate both small and large communities. In spite of the fact that more differences amount to differences of one single rank, when one considers the large amount of everyday behavior which stems out of a single value, or "way of life preference" in our case, differences become significant. For instance, a large number of alternatives that have to do with religion tend to appear more attractive to a small towner as compared to an urbanite; the opposite tends to be true for alternatives that have to do with material comfort.

The knowledge of such differences is not only important to a person who either wants to know why people in smaller communities as compared to larger ones behave the way they do or what choices they would make under particular circumstances, but also for the person who is interested in the structure of the community as a whole. This is the case because values constitute the basis for the nature and the integration of the community as a social system. This in turn suggests that if community values are of one kind and those of action agencies of another, policies tend to support behavior not in line with community values. The outcome will be either negative response to the policy or some form of loosening of

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Table 1
PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS PLACING HIGHER VALUE ON LIFE IN LINE WITH RELIGION, WORK, MATERIAL CONVENIENCES AND RECREATION

Proportion with High Scores favoring Life in Line with:	Charles-ton N=146	Morgan-town N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Religion	50.7%	47.3%	81.2%	76.4%	66.4%	67.5%	75.2%
Work	70.7	65.3	48.5	46.2	52.3	43.5	49.9
Material Convenience	76.4	59.6	44.0	59.4	45.3	47.3	50.1
Recreation	40.7	44.5	25.0	32.1	28.9	28.3	26.9

Table 2
RANK ORDER OF REFERENCE AS TO WAYS OF LIFE

Rank Order	Charles-ton N=146	Morgan-town N-150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
1.	Family	Family	Religion	Religion	Religion	Religion	Religion
2.	Religion	Religion	Family	Family	Family	Family	Family
3.	Work	Work	Education	Education	Education	Education	Education
4.	Education	Education	Friendship	Friendship	Friendship	Friendship	Friendship
5.	Friendship	Friendship	Outdoor Living	Work	Work	Work	Works
6.	Material Comfort	Material Comfort	Work	Material Comfort	Material Comfort	Outdoor Living	Materials Comforts
7.	Achievement	Achievement	Material Comfort	Outdoor Living	Outdoor Living	Material Comfort	Outdoor Living
8.	Recreation	Recreation	Recreation	Achievement	Achievement	Achievement	Recreation
9.	Outdoor Living	Outdoor Living	Achievement	Recreation	Recreation	Recreation	Achievement

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community integration if the policy is in line with the values of only a segment of the community's population. This is often the case when for certain policy decisions no distinction is made between smaller and larger communities.

6. Religious Belief and Participation:

One of the important differences in "preferences as to ways of life" we described previously (Tables 1 and 2) was "life in line with religion." The two more urban centers, Charleston and Morgantown, value to a lesser extent a life in line with religion as compared to smaller towns. Table 3 shows that the same is true for religious beliefs. Smaller proportions of respondents from Charleston and Morgantown, about 59 per cent, are stronger believers as compared to the remaining communities, where corresponding proportions range from about 78 to 93 per cent. Beckley, a town in the midst of a typical rural southern Appalachian mining area has the highest proportion of strong believers.

The differences between the two larger and the remaining smaller communities remain when each of the individual questions which form the summary score of Table 3 are examined. The differences, although following similar patterns, increase when responses to the statement "the world is soon coming to an end" is concerned. The difference in terms of this question for the proportion of respondents who agree with the statement is 13 percent for Charleston and 67 percent for Beckley. Consistently, Raleigh, the most typical southern Appalachian County (Beckley and open country of Raleigh County) shows considerably higher scores on belief than either the two larger communities or the smaller areas of the northern non-mining part of the state.

Responses to the statement "the world is soon coming to an end" would normally indicate sectarian affiliation. However, Beckley, which has the most positive response to this statement, has along with Charleston the lowest proportion of respondents who are actual members of sectarian churches (not including fundamental Baptists.) Members of sectarian churches otherwise are much more numerous in smaller communities. As a matter of fact, in Charleston, Morgantown, and Beckley there are four to seven times fewer members of sectarian churches than in the smaller communities either in mining or non-mining areas.

The matter of sectarianism and religion in Appalachia in general will be examined in a special forthcoming publication on religion. Here we will simply say that sectarianism in rural areas remains strong in spite of increased education and level of living, which are negative correlaries of sectarianism. Data from elsewhere in Appalachia indicate that sectarianism in Appalachia, if not increasing, is at least holding its own. But even in that case, considering that education and the level of living are increasing in rural areas, one could speculate that there are today forces which favor sectarian tendencies. Looking at data on alienation and the need to alleviate anxieties through religion presented in the pages which follow, one can speculate that modern complexity, and in particular the impact of mass society on rural areas, produces anxieties and in turn the need for the emotional and brotherly type of religion. It might be that if the unknown or the inability to control nature were the crucial determinants of the function of rural religion in the past, modern complexity is increasingly becoming an important determining cause of the function of rural religion today.

Table 3
PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH STATEMENTS MEASURING RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

% in Agreement* or Disagreement*	Charleston N=146	Morgantown N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question: I believe that the world is soon coming to an end.							
Agreement	13.3	19.9	67.0	37.5	33.1	42.3	62.7
Disagreement	86.7	80.1	33.0	62.5	66.9	57.7	37.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Scale: Orthodox belief scale.							
High (20-28)	58.7	58.7	92.7	79.8	79.1	77.5	91.4
Low (4-19)	41.3	41.3	7.3	20.2	20.9	22.5	8.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Combines strong, moderate, and slight intensity of agreement or disagreement.

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What seems to be true about religious b[illegible], does not seem to be true about church participation, although to be more accurate it would be better to say that when it comes to church participation, additional factors affect the relationship between community size and religiosity. As shown in Table 4 (upper part) when it comes to frequency of participation, a different picture as compared to Table 3 appears. As a matter of fact in Charleston and Morgantown where the proportion of strong believers is almost half of those in Raleigh County, (both Beckley and open country), when it comes to frequency of participation, they have considerably higher proportions of frequent participants then Raleigh County.

Attendance for purely social purposes has been shown to exist not only in Appalachia but elsewhere.[8] What our table shows here is that attendance for purely social purposes is less important in the rural areas of West Virginia. It is also quite probable, however, that in rural areas there are strong believers who are low participants, and furthermore, that the needs of rural people are changing and that this shifting of needs is related to the church or of churches in low income areas, which often seem to be influenced by similar factors

The significance of this discussion for policy making is that along with a shifting [illegible] the function of religion, the objectives of the churches should change. More specifically, church leaders should first try to understand modern societal change and the new needs it produces and in this light change practices and plan when possible for particular segments of the congregation and even individuals. If, for instance, anxiety is increasingly produced by modern society and perhaps more in rural or low income areas, the types of religious activities alleviating such anxieties should be increased. The same should be true about social needs in the larger centers. On the basis of such needs churches should try to increase the involvement in church activities of non-believers with such needs until that psychological moment when acceptance of the doctrine will be perceived as the logical outlet for satisfying those needs. From this point on, and as it could be the case with those who are believers, the church continues conditioning and strengthening beliefs by keeping the mutual dependence between ritual and belief going. Similarly for the small town segment of those who are believers but do not participate, appropriate forms of religious practice could be established, depending on whether the need is based on the unsuitability of the doctrine or of the nature of the social interaction within the church group.

Our discussion and our suggestion above were made in the light of the speculation that the function of religion in Appalachia, and in West Virginia in particular, is changing because society and the rural segment in particular is changing in a way that produces severe strains on the individual Under the headings which follow we will look at some other aspects of social life of communities of various sizes and the possible impact of the new societal changes.

Table 4
CHURCH PARTICIPATION
AND SECTARIAN, NON-SECTARIAN AFFILIATION

	Charleston N=146	Morgantown N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question: How often do you attend church?							
Frequently	51.4%	53.3%	24.8%	56.1%	56.9%	47.2%	40.9%
Occasionally	39.4	30.7	57.4	31.8	33.8	38.7	32.3
Not at all	9.2	16.0	17.8	12.2	9.3	14.1	26.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total- Church participant scale							
High	16.1	23.9	23.3	17.3	15.2	13.6	34.6
Medium	6.3	7.7	7.8	11.5	13.6	8.9	3.7
Low	77.6	68.4	68.9	71.2	71.2	77.5	61.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Non-Sectarian or sectarian church affiliation							
Non-sectarian	91.8	80.7	60.6	65.4	71.5	50.8	35.1
Sectarian	2.1	5.6	2.9	29.9	24.7	38.2	23.5
Other	6.1	13.7	36.5	4.7	3.8	11.0	41.4
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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7. Reference Groups, Level of Living, and Alienation

(a) *Reference Groups:* In the introduction to this bulletin and in citing studies carried out by the Appalachian Center of West Virginia University, we suggested that the rapid process of incorporation of smaller rural communities into the larger society is creating severe problems of adjustment for the rural resident. Because of its semi-autonomy, the small Appalachian rural community of the past has retained a lower level of living and has remained in many respects culturally different from the rest of society without any severe feelings of relative deprivation among its people. The main reference group of the rural resident, then, was the rural community itself. In later years, however, due, on the one hand to increased contact and communication with the outside and on the other to the availability of jobs in the city, the local community, depending on its location and facilities for economic development, became a closer part of the larger society. As a consequence, in later years more people than before started to use the larger society as an important reference group.

Table 5 indicates for communities of various sizes the proportion of respondents who have indicated as a first or second choice one of the following four reference groups: (1) people they associate with; (2) their community; (3) people in the Appalachian region; and (4) the people in the United States as a whole. "Reference group" in this case refers primarily to the group of people one compares himself with in order to secure satisfaction in terms of the income he is making. Table 5 shows that, excluding the open country of Raleigh County, smaller communities do not use the American society as a reference group less than, say, Charleston or Morgantown. In these two more urban centers, the proportion of those who have checked as a first or second choice reference group the entire country is about 30 and 23 per cent respectively. In the open country of Raleigh County where the pace of change is visibly slower than in other parts of our sampling area, the proportion of those who choose the American society as first and second choice is only about 16 per cent. On the other hand, in this more traditionally rural area, the proportion of those who use their own community as a first or second choice is the highest (about 82 per cent) among all seven types of communities we deal with here. At least concerning this type of reference group, differences among the other six community types do not follow any pattern and are relatively small.

The open country in Raleigh County also has the lowest proportion of respondents (about 16 per cent) who mentioned as first or second choice the people they associate with. There are no important differences among the rest of the communities where the proportion of respondents choosing the people they associate with as a reference group, is somewhere between 65 and 75 per cent. Charleston has the highest proportion of respondents who use this particular reference group extensively. In other words, as compared to the open country of Raleigh County, there are in Charleston about five times as many respondents who have mentioned "people they associate with" as their most important reference group. This proportion is higher than that of respondents in the other six community categories where the corresponding proportions vary from about 68 to 76 per cent. This extensive use of the community as a reference group is probably more or less typical for simple communities in general. However, it might be that for Appalachia in particular, in the immediate past, close associates and kin folks were more important reference groups, at least as far as the trade center community is concerned.

The reference group which is used least by the two larger or more urban type communities, as compared with the other communities, is the group consisting of people of the Appalachian region. Charleston has about 8 per cent and Morgantown 15 per cent of respondents who choose, as first and second choice, Appalachian people as their reference group. In the rest of the communities the corresponding proportions range from 20 to about 34 per cent.

Table 5
PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO USE A PARTICULAR GROUP AS A REFERENCE GROUP TO SECURE SATISFACTION CONCERNING OVERALL ECONOMIC POSITION

Reference Groups checked as 1st and 2nd choice	Charles-ton	Morgan-town	Beckley	Keyser	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co.	Open. Contr. Min.-Hard. Co.	Open Contr. Raleigh Co.
People I associate with	75.3	72.0	70.2	67.7	70.5	65.2	15.6
People in my community	76.0	63.7	72.1	75.0	68.2	76.3	82.4
People in the Appalachian Region	8.2	14.6	33.7	20.2	22.5	29.9	24.9
People in the United States	26.9	30.3	22.3	33.3	38.0	29.0	15.9

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With the knowledge now that, concerning people one compares himself with in terms of his income, most of these communities (in some cases excluding open country in Raleigh County) use similar reference groups, and in particular the American society as a whole, let us see how similar our communities are in the level of living and income which are so much emphasized and demanded from all by the new common reference group, the American society.

(b) *Level of Living:* At least until recently, the themes of the American culture have been higher income and level of living. These themes are the main axis around which the integration of rural communities into the larger society takes place. Under the previous sub-heading we have shown that, concerning income, both large and small communities use almost to a similar extent the larger American society as a reference group. The more isolated open country of Raleigh County was the exception. Census reports on the other hand show that rural counties have considerably lower income than more urban counties. Our data show that the same is true concerning level of living items.

Table 6 shows by community size the proportion of people possessing level of living items in 1967. The summary score at the lower part of the table shows differences of all items combined. The open country has a lower level of living than small towns which in turn have a lower level of living than larger towns. The difference between smaller and larger communities is more pronounced when it comes to items that were not considered absolute necessities at the time of this survey and that were expensive. There are about seven times as many houses with wall-to-wall carpet in Charleston as compared to open country in Raleigh or Mineral or Hardy counties. The difference is even more pronounced when it comes to air conditioning. Although very visible, the differences between smaller and larger communities are not as wide as they might be in less developed societies and they are probably more pronounced in West Virginia than they might be in farming states such as Iowa or Ohio.

When it comes to mass media, and in particular basic ones, such as black and white television, newspapers, and telephones, the difference between smaller and larger communities is much smaller. In other words, concerning the means of communication, small and large communities tend to receive similar messages about styles of life and in particular level of living items which are so often advertised. Therefore, concerning such items, similar desires tend to develop to an extent in small and large communities. When, however, one considers that in small communities there are both lower income and fewer opportunities for securing it,

Table 6
PROPORTION OF PEOPLE POSSESSING LEVEL OF LIVING ITEMS (1967)

Item Possessed	Charles-ton N=146	Morgan-town N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Gas or Electric Cookstove	100.0%	100.0%	98.1%	96.2%	97.7%	87.3%	84.4%
Automatic Washing Machine	87.0	66.9	61.2	69.8	48.4	22.8	37.6
Semi-auto Washing Machine	3.4	20.6	49.5	17.9	40.6	65.4	60.4
Dryer	71.9	60.0	56.3	47.2	47.7	20.7	42.4
Flush Toilet	99.3	99.4	95.1	95.3	89.1	66.2	64.0
Wall-to-Wall Carpet	71.9	42.5	25.2	21.7	16.4	11.8	12.8
Vacuum Cleaner	100.0	91.9	85.4	86.8	86.7	73.0	70.0
Bath and Shower	99.3	98.1	87.4	96.2	85.7	61.6	60.0
Air Conditioner	55.5	18.8	12.6	18.9	10.9	5.1	6.4
Kitchen Sink	100.0	99.4	98.1	99.1	98.4	85.7	88.8
First Car	97.9	84.4	89.1	81.1	87.5	84.4	83.5
Second Car	34.9	29.4	29.1	20.8	27.3	24.2	15.2
Black and White T.V.	92.5	90.6	84.5	94.3	94.5	86.9	86.0
Color T.V.	20.5	15.6	17.5	9.4	4.7	0.4	8.4
Daily Newspaper	98.6	95.6	88.3	93.4	79.7	49.8	78.8
Telephone	97.9	97.5	79.6	83.0	83.6	61.6	72.4
Level of Living Scale							
High Score (10-19)	100.0	98.1	95.1	91.5	93.7	71.3	77.1
Low Score (0-9)	0.0	1.9	4.9	8.5	6.3	28.7	22.9

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one can see some of the reasons for out-migration from rural to urban areas and the strain under which those who remain in the rural community must live when they realize that they are not able to attain what the mass media encourage them to have. Not only has the personal motivation to acquire the particular level of living item been increased, but also the social motivation which is acquired by the use of urban centers as a reference group.

What has been said about the difference between rural and urban communities could also be said about lower and upper strata and in particular in the larger centers. Lower strata in the city also use mass media extensively, interact considerably with upper strata, and more and more adhere to the ideology of equal opportunity. But as income data from Charleston show, there is a wide disparity income-wise between upper and lower strata. Higher alienation among lower strata, which many studies report, has been attributed to the inability of lower socioeconomic status to attain a higher level of living while aspirations of acquiring such level of living have increased.

(c) *Desire for Social Integration into the Larger Society:* The data in Table 7 show the desires of West Virginians to become like the rest of the country in selected characteristics: (1) education; (2) habits, customs, and attitudes toward life; (3) income and (4) businesslike attitudes. Let us look at the summary score of the four questions which measure responses to all characteristics combined. Table 7 (5th line) indicates that smaller communities (which, concerning attributes that characterize the mass society, are usually more different) have a stronger desire to become like the rest of the country than Charleston and Morgantown do. Among the five smaller communities, Beckley and open country Raleigh County have the largest proportion of respondents with high scores in the desire for integration scale. Raleigh County, which, as we mentioned, includes Beckley is more typical of rural southern Appalachia than the rest of the counties in our sample.

The difference between Charleston and Morgantown, the two communities with the more urban attributes, and the rest of the communities also exist in relation to each of the four individual attributes we are concerned with. This includes not only income and education but also business-like attitudes and in particular habits, customs, and attitudes toward life in general.

To look at the data in Table 7 from a more general point of view, we could say that smaller communities are more different from what we might call the larger society, and have more desire to be like it than a larger one, but they have less means to do that. The desire for integration into mass society and the lack of means to do so is usually associated with alienation. In the sub-heading which follows we will look at alienation in terms of community size. But before we do that, let us consider some of the conditions that may encourage people to remain in small communities.

The last question of Table 7 indicates that smaller communities, more than Charleston and Morgantown, feel that the social and cultural environment of the Appalachian region is such that even if one does not have enough, there are other rewards, (for instance, closer personal associations, kinship ties, life in harmony with nature), which can compensate for this insufficient income. In other words, findings up to this point allow us to hypothesize that increased alienation in smaller communities is due to the inability to fulfill pressing social expectations, but also allow us to hypothesize high satisfaction with life in the small community, because under the circumstances this type of community offers opportunities for alleviation of anxieties that modern change and in turn alienation can produce.[9]

8. **Alienation**

(a) *Bewilderment and Confusion:* Table 8 includes five questions and their summary score. These questions, which are designed to measure "bewilderment and confusion," refer to the way one perceives the function of modern society and his involvement in it.[10]

The summary score at the lower part of Table 8 indicates that a feeling of "bewilderment and confusion" is higher in smaller communities (including Beckley) as compared with Charleston and Morgantown. The same dichotomy prevails concerning each of the five questions which form the five-question scale.

The statement most respondents in the entire sample agree with is the one suggesting that "the more societies progress, the more humans become confused." But the proportion of those who agree is considerably higher in the smaller communities. This is also true of the remaining four statements.

During depth interviews following the empirical survey through which the present data were collected, a number of respondents from this same sample were asked about the way they perceive changes of the last few decades. Respondents in smaller communities in particular indicated that they are better now than they were in the past. When they were asked what they meant by "better," they almost invariably spoke in terms of material comfort. When they were further asked about changes in peoples' minds and souls, the majority, but not all, indicated that there were more things to worry and be confused about. When respondents were asked to in some way try to balance the two reactions and come up with an overall reaction, older people tended to indicate that all in all things are worse now. This is not the case with younger people and people whose jobs do not involve as much hardship as before. For instance, coal miners in particular (including older ones) tend to be more favorable about the present life in general, in spite of the fact that they see life today as more confusing, which the majority consider an unfavorable factor. Farmers and part-time farmers on the other hand tend to perceive modern society less favorable,

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although they often mentioned that they were better off now in terms of material comfort. In general it appears that concerning present life as compared to the past the first reaction of people in smaller communities is in relation to material comfort, which they tend to see as the main attribute of life. After a probing into areas having to do with peace of mind and satisfaction from the sociopsychological point of view, the past tends to appear more attractive than the present.

Table 7
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS CONCERNING INTEGRATION WITH THE REST OF THE COUNTRY

% of Agreement* or Disagreement*	Charleston N=146	Morgantown N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question:	The Appalachian Region should make all sacrifices to become like the rest of the country in terms of level of education.						
Agreement	82.1%	79.0%	96.1%	89.8%	86.2%	88.5%	91.5%
Disagreement	17.9	21.0	3.9	10.2	13.8	11.5	8.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	The Appalachian Region should make all sacrifices to become like the rest of the country in terms of habits, customs, and attitudes toward life.						
Agreement	42.4	41.7	65.1	61.7	50.0	55.1	63.0
Disagreement	57.6	58.3	34.9	38.3	50.0	44.9	37.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	The Appalachian Region should make all sacrifices and become like the rest of the country in terms of personal income.						
Agreement	66.0	63.1	86.4	81.3	79.2	80.5	89.2
Disagreement	34.0	36.9	13.6	18.7	20.8	19.5	10.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	The Appalachian Region should make all sacrifices to become as business like as the rest of the country.						
Agreement	69.9	59.8	91.3	82.3	80.8	76.7	87.5
Disagreement	30.1	40.2	8.7	17.7	19.2	23.3	12.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total:	Attitudes Toward Integration with the rest of the Country Scale.						
More Favorable	73.5	73.1	95.1	86.0	86.9	84.7	93.9
Less Favorable	26.5	26.9	4.9	14.0	13.1	15.3	6.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	The Appalachian Region is the place where you can be happy even if you don't have much.						
Agreement	47.9	57.6	78.5	68.2	83.9	73.7	75.7
Disagreement	52.1	42.4	21.5	31.8	16.1	26.3	24.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Combines strong, moderate, and slight intensity of agreement or disagreement.

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Table 8
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS MEASURING BEWILDERMENT AND CONFUSION

% in Agreement* or Disagreement*	Charles-ton N=146	Morgan-town N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open. Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question:	The world is too complicated now to be understood by anyone but experts.						
Agreement	38.9%	41.4%	69.6%	59.8%	50.7%	65.7%	58.1%
Disagreement	61.1	58.6	30.4	40.2	49.3	34.3	41.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	The more societies progress, the more humans become confused.						
Agreement	52.1	55.5	76.5	65.4	67.5	76.7	64.0
Disagreement	47.9	44.5	23.5	34.6	32.5	23.3	36.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	All the experts disagree, so how can a person decide what is right?						
Agreement	38.2	41.3	82.0	52.4	60.7	62.6	66.8
Disagreement	61.8	58.6	18.0	47.6	39.3	37.4	33.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Nobody really has any good answers for the problems that face us today.						
Agreement	48.6	55.9	87.2	63.5	63.9	71.2	70.6
Disagreement	51.4	44.1	12.8	36.5	36.1	28.8	29.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	I don't know who to blame when things go wrong in the business world today.						
Agreement	50.3	53.0	76.0	67.3	70.7	77.9	59.8
Disagreement	49.7	47.0	24.0	32.7	29.3	22.1	40.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total:	Bewilderment and Confussion Scale						
High	13.3	13.7	34.3	33.6	32.6	42.3	35.5
Medium	51.1	63.3	60.6	49.6	45.7	47.4	50.6
Low	35.6	23.0	5.1	16.8	21.7	10.3	13.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

***Combines strong, moderate, and slight intensity of agreement or disagreement.**

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In line with the above speculations, then, data in Table 8 show that a feeling of "bewilderment and confusion" as measured by both total score and by each individual question separately is higher among respondents living in smaller communities. One should be reminded at this point that smaller communities also have a number of other characteristics which are different from those of larger communities, such as, for instance, lower education, which might also be responsible for their higher proportion of alienated individuals. Differences in variables like education and level of living, however, always existed between rural and urban, but, as far as we can ascertain about Appalachia and places elsewhere, alienation aspects, such as "bewilderment and confusion" in the past were not higher in smaller communities as compared to the larger ones, but as a matter of fact there are indications that they were lower. Emile Durkheim for instance in his book *Suicide* refers to the presence of lower anomie in rural communities as compared to urban ones. But recent studies of small businessmen in the Midwest indicate that those in smaller communities as compared to the larger ones here feel alienated.[11]

Again, and as it has been the case with a number of similar hypotheses which we have tested with these same data, it appears that the most probable explanation for the higher "bewilderment and confusion" in small communities as compared to larger ones is that the semi-autonomy of the small community or the medium size one which has rural characteristics is disappearing. Thus, more and more people in these communities tend to use the larger society as a reference group, at least concerning aquisition of what they feel they should have in order not to feel relatively deprived. On the other hand, it is precisely because people in smaller communities have fewer opportunities, lower education, income and associated characteristics, that they have difficulty meeting these societal expectations. Furthermore, lower education is also associated with a more limited perception as to the way society functions, which in turn tends to make a person less able to understand society and as a consequence feel more alienated from it. But even this factor of lower perception in recent years is becoming less crucial simply because the small towner's scope is enhanced through the increased use of mass media, and therefore he has become more concerned with broader issues.

(b) *Mistrust in Government Officials:* Another indicator of the way the individual relates himself to his society is his attitude toward and trust of those who govern him. The more one trusts those who govern him, the more he has confidence in society itself. As has been shown in another publication produced out of these same data, West Virginians in general have relatively low trust in those who govern them.[12] This attitude is shown in Table 9, which in addition indicates that mistrust in government officials is higher in the more rural and mining Raleigh County located in the southern part of the state. The summary score distributions at the lower part of Table 9 indicate that close to 89 per cent in Beckley and 84 per cent in the open country of Raleigh County have high scores in the scale that combines the four questions which measure mistrust of government officials. The difference between Raleigh County and the rest of the communities which exists in relation to the summary score also exists in relation to each of the four individual questions that measure mistrust.

During the period these data were collected, coal was not as much in demand as it is today, and there was a degree of depression in mining areas; however, regardless of the status of the coal industry, southern rural counties are usually considered as being run by political machines.[13] If one now considers that rural counties, such as Raleigh County, need considerable government action to improve their lot, but at the same time consider that three out of four of their male residents feel that "people who go into public office are out for all they can get," (top of Table 9), one cannot stop wondering as to the degree of effectiveness of the government and the willingness of people to contribute to its projects. If some officials are really unreliable, because it is difficult to believe that all officials are so, something drastic should be done to eliminate them. If on the other hand, as it is often the case in most places, only a small number of officials are unreliable, people in rural areas should be brought in closer contact with the way the government is run. In addition to these considerations, one should be aware that the more complex society becomes, the more rural and low income people become frustrated and the more they in turn have a tendency to perceive threats to their well being.

It has been shown, both in Tables 8 and 9, that rural areas tend to be less in accord with the larger society, see less order in it, and feel less a part of it. Part of this alienation, we have explained, is due to the inability of rural communities to meet expectations of the larger society and, in particular, in terms of income and level of living, and also to the variables, such as formal education which are often associated with income and level of living. If this is the case and if it is admitted that alienation tends to be associated with frustration and then anxiety, one should expect that people in rural areas are more in need of alleviating anxieties of this nature. The sub-heading which follows therefore deals with the need to alleviate such anxieties as are related to community size.

9. Need to Alleviate Anxieties

(a) *Religion as a Buffer:* Table 10 includes responses to five questions and their summary score. These questions directly and indirectly measure one's feeling of need and perception of need to alleviate, through religion, anxieties produced by the modern world. The summary score distribution at the lower part of the table indicates that the need to alleviate anxieties through religion in the five smaller communities, including Beckley, is higher as compared to Charleston and Morgantown. Again the difference is more pronounced between Charleston and the most rural

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Table 9
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS MEASURING
MISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

% in Agreement* or Disagreement*	Charles-on N=146	Morgan-town N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question:	People who go into public office are usually out for all they can get.						
Agreement	54.1%	56.0%	84.5%	46.7%	53.2%	64.9%	74.2%
Disagreement	45.9	44.0	15.5	53.3	46.8	35.1	25.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Elected officials become tools of special interests, no matter what.						
Agreement	53.4	52.9	80.5	51.4	62.0	61.5	73.1
Disagreement	47.6	47.1	19.5	48.6	38.0	38.5	26.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Local officials soon lose touch with the people who elected them.						
Agreement	50.1	55.7	91.2	51.4	60.0	66.0	83.5
Disagreement	49.9	44.3	8.8	48.6	40.0	34.0	16.5
Question:	If people really knew what was going on in high places, it would blow the lid off things.						
Agreement	63.9	65.4	88.3	65.5	72.9	79.1	84.7
Disagreement	36.1	34.6	11.7	34.5	27.1	20.9	15.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total:	Mistrust of Government Officials Scale.						
High (mistrust)	63.6	64.0	89.2	58.8	66.4	72.0	84.3
Low (mistrust)	36.4	36.0	10.8	41.2	33.6	28.0	15.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

***Combines strong, moderate, and slight intensity of agreement or disagreement.**

open country in Raleigh County. The proportion of respondents with high scores is about 66 per cent in open country Raleigh County and only about 28 per cent in Charleston.

Excluding the general statement suggesting that "firmly based belief serves as a buffer to the outside world," which does not seem to differentiate our seven types of communities, responses to the remaining four questions follow the common dichotomy between Charleston and Morgantown on the one hand and the remaining communities on the other. The statement which differentiates the two types of communities most is the one suggesting that "churches should have provisions to have people testify"; among the respondents, close to 19 per cent in Charleston and 28 per cent in Morgantown agree with the statement. The corresponding proportion for open country Raleigh County is again the highest, reaching close to 66 per cent. This particular question implies sectarian tendencies and therefore it becomes apparent that more rural communities feel the need for religion more than larger communities, but more than conventional religion they need religion of a sectarian nature.

The above data suggest that religion, at least for rural communities in particular today, is performing a special function, that of a buffer to the outside world. Relevant data on socio-economic status also indicate that among lower strata there is a much stronger need for religion of the kind smaller communities prefer as compared to the upper strata. At least the major aspects of this need may be explained in the light of the theoretical framework which we have used in the previous pages in which we suggested that lower socioeconomic strata and rural communities are

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Table 10
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON USE OF RELIGION
AS BUFFERS TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD

% in Agreement* or Disagreement*	Charles-ton N=146	Morgan-town N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question: Firmly based belief serves as a buffer to the outside world.							
Agreement	89.0%	78.8%	88.3%	91.5%	86.2%	84.7%	86.3%
Disagreement	11.0	21.2	11.7	8.5	13.8	15.3	13.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question: Prayer is a means of obtaining needed benefits.							
Agreement	48.3	61.7	77.5	75.7	70.0	72.3	78.8
Disagreement	51.7	38.3	22.5	24.3	30.0	27.7	21.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question: My faith in God is the best means of forgetting daily worries.							
Agreement	61.6	62.2	91.2	91.6	80.0	86.8	88.4
Disagreement	38.4	37.8	8.8	8.4	20.0	13.2	11.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question: Churches should make provisions to have people testify they are saved.							
Agreement	18.9	28.2	53.9	55.1	46.9	55.9	65.7
Disagreement	81.1	71.8	46.1	44.9	53.1	44.1	34.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question: Religion keeps me going.							
Agreement	48.3	52.2	69.9	82.2	66.9	69.8	73.8
Disagreement	51.7	47.8	30.1	17.8	33.1	30.2	26.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total: Religion as a buffer to the outside world scale.							
High (25-35)	27.7	40.0	57.4	64.6	58.5	58.2	66.2
Low (5-24)	72.3	60.0	42.6	35.4	41.5	41.8	33.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Combines strong, moderate, and slight intensity of agreement or disagreement.

under severe pressure to fulfill the increased expectations of mass society in spite of their lack of sufficient means for doing so. One of the mechanisms by which a person may retain his sanity, which the individual who cannot make the score has in his hands, is the opportunity to turn to religion and in particular to one of a sectarian nature, or if he has such belief, to retain it and use it as a shield against the outside world. Migrants returning to their old communities, at least those who have not made it in the city, often exhibit this type of need.[14]

(b) *Primary Groups as Buffers to the Outside World:* Another crucial social means of alleviating anxieties produced by modern complexity is attachment to primary and intimate groups, such as the family or kinship and friendship groups. Responses to the first question of Table 11 indicate that in all size communities love and closeness

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of the family is an important means of keeping them going in today's world. The proportion of respondents who feel this way is lower for Charleston and Morgantown, about 81 and 82 per cent respectively, as compared to the rest of the communities. However, although the family is slightly less important in these two urban centers in helping people face the modern world, the difference between smaller and larger communities is much smaller than in terms of the other dimensions which we have discussed, for instance, the use of religion as a means of alleviating anxieties. Besides, both in smaller and larger communities the proportion of respondents who receive strong psychological support from the family in facing the modern world is relatively high and apparently in disagreement with the proportion of those claiming that the importance of the institution of the family is declining. A more correct interpretation might be one indicating that certain of the functions of the family are declining in importance, for instance, the contribution of the family in the socialization of the child. But other areas, such as the one we examined above, may have become more important. In other words it is quite possible that today the family is more important or as important as before as a mechanism helping the individual retain his sanity in a complex and rapidly changing society. This seems to be true for both the small and the large communities.

The friendship group as a means of helping one keep going in today's world is also more important in smaller communities, as compared with Charleston and Morgantown where the proportion of respondents who feel that "the closeness of their friends is what keeps them going" is about 59 to 64 per cent respectively. When, however, all questions which we have used here to measure its use of primary groups as buffers to the outside world are combined, there is no pattern which distinguishes smaller from larger communities, except when it comes to comparing regions of the state of West Virginia. Raleigh County, which as we said is a more typical southern Appalachia county, has the highest proportion of respondents who have high scores in the summary scale which measures the use of primary groups as buffers to the outside world; these proportions are about 70 per cent for Beckley and 87 per cent for Raleigh County open country.

Table 11
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON USE OF PRIMARY GROUPS AS BUFFERS TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD

% in Agreement* or Disagreement*	Charleston N=146	Morgantown N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question: The love and closeness of my family keeps me going.							
Agreement	80.8%	81.6%	91.3%	93.5%	86.2%	88.1%	89.3%
Disagreement	19.2	18.4	8.7	6.5	13.8	11.9	10.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question: The closeness of my friends keeps me going.							
Agreement	58.9	64.1	79.4	79.4	75.4	81.4	73.9
Disagreement	41.4	35.9	20.6	20.6	24.6	18.6	26.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total: Use of primary groups as buffers to the outside world scale.							
High (17-28%)	76.7	77.7	92.1	75.7	63.1	64.7	87.2
Low (4-16%)	23.3	22.3	7.9	24.3	36.9	35.3	12.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Combines strong, moderate and slight intensity of agreement or disagreement.

Table 12 presents a combined summary score of all questions used to measure the use of both religion and primary groups as buffers to the outside world. This summary index demonstrates more clearly the increased need to use religion and primary groups as buffers to the outside world as the size of the community declines. There are only about 28 per cent of respondents with high scores in Charleston, 39 in Morgantown, but 53 per cent in Beckley and considerably higher proportions in the smaller communities.

In general, religion and primary group relationships are known to be characteristics of almost all rural societies. The present data show that these characteristics still exist in rural areas and continue to play important psychological functions in the lives of people in these communities. It is difficult to ascertain which of these functions have changed in nature and intensity in these later turbulent (for rural areas) years. The fact, however, remains that they continue to be important; one possible explanation for their present importance is that religion and primary groups provide the means for alleviating anxieties produced by societal pressures and the breaking up of social relationships. Another explanation is that the needs for alleviating anxieties of similar magnitude – if not larger – exist in urban areas also, but other aspects of life, some not existing in rural areas, supplement the role of religion and primary groups.

Finally, one might ask, if religion and primary groups are valued to such an extent in rural areas, what then is their importance in retaining the integration of the highly pressured small community? To put this in a different way, one might ask, what is the extent of mental health, or anomia, and in turn, what might the consequential nature of the social organization have been if these two mechanisms, and others related to them, were not in existence.[15]

Because of the presence of mechanisms of this nature and their ability to alleviate anxieties the modern world produces, one might further hypothesize that the individual in the small community could remain relatively satisfied with his life as with life in the small community in spite of the pressures of mass society and of the actual low level of living. Let us look then at life satisfaction in terms of community size. But before we do that, let us see whether poor physical health, which is another important factor producing strains, is also more prevalent in the small community. In that case we would have some of the answers concerning the reasons (besides values which we have examined previously) why some people remain in the small community in spite of societal pressure. Furthermore we would have some additional reasons why rural people today have stronger needs to alleviate anxieties through primary groups and religion.

10. Physical Health

Table 13 includes responses to two questions which refer to: first, the way he compares his health with that of others (not necessarily in his own community) of the same age. Concerning perception of one's health, this table (upper part) shows it closely related to community size. About 36 per cent of the respondents from Charleston and 37 per cent of those from Morgantown feel that their health is excellent; the corresponding proportion of those who feel that their health is excellent; in the open country of the isolated Raleigh County is less than 12 per cent. The same is true concerning those who feel that their health is simply good; 52 per cent of those from Charleston and about 33 per cent of those from Morgantown feel this way; the corresponding proportion of those who feel that their health is good in the open country of Raleigh County is about 34 per cent. In other words, over 88 per cent of the respondents from Charleston and over 69 per cent from Morgantown feel that their health is either good or excellent, while the corresponding proportion of those who feel this way from open country Raleigh County is only about 46 per cent. The remaining types of communities fall somewhere between these two extremes.

The opposite is true concerning those whose health is poor or very poor. Fewer than one per cent of respondents in Charleston feel that their health is very poor and the same proportion of those who feel that their health is simply poor. On the other hand there are about 11 per cent in open country of Raleigh County who feel that their health is very poor and about 17 per cent who feel that their health is poor. In other words, only a little over one per cent of the respondents in Charleston feel that their health is poor or very poor while about 28 per cent in Raleigh County feel the same way. The remaining types of communities again fall somewhere between the two extremes.

Similar relationships, although not as pronounced, exist when respondents compare themselves with other people of their age in relation to their health. About 35 per cent of the respondents in Charleston and Morgantown feel that their health is better than that of others of their age (lower part of Table 11). The corresponding proportion for Raleigh County is about 14 per cent. The opposite is true when it comes to the proportion of those in open country Raleigh County who feel this way, whereas only about six per cent in Charleston feel likewise. Again, concerning perception of either better or worse health as compared to that of others of the same age, the remaining types of communities fall between the two extremes.

Concerning perception of one's physical health, then, we may say that the smaller and more isolated the type of community, the larger the percentage of respondents who feel that they are not in good health or that their health is worse than that of other people in their age group.

Finally, to summarize the last few tables we could say that in smaller communities and in particular in communities with more rural characterisitics, we have a more frequent perception of poor physical health; a lower level of living; more aspirations for integration into the mass society, and, in particular, in terms of income and education and in turn more alienation from society; and

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Table 12
USE OF PRIMARY GROUPS AND RELIGION AS BUFFERS TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD

% of agreement or disagreement*	Charles-ton N=146	Morgan-town N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question:	In today's society the only things that really make sense are our religion, family and friends.						
Score:	Scale: Use of primary group and religion as a buffer to the outside world.						
High	27.9	38.8	53.0	67.2	59.2	59.6	67.1
Low	72.1	61.2	47.0	32.8	40.8	40.4	32.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Combines strong, moderate and slight intensity of agreement or disagreement.

Table 13
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON PHYSICAL HEALTH

Conditions of Health	Charles-ton N=146	Morgan-town N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question:	Would you say that your health at the present time is:						
Excellent	36.3	36.9	20.2	27.4	18.0	19.6	11.6
Good	52.1	32.5	40.4	45.3	45.3	44.3	33.9
Fair	9.6	25.6	26.0	18.9	26.6	23.2	26.3
Poor	0.7	2.5	7.7	6.6	9.4	8.4	16.7
Very Poor	0.7	1.9	5.8	1.9	0.8	4.2	11.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Do you think your health is better, worse, or the same as other people your age?						
Better	34.5	35.4	24.1	23.6	21.9	18.1	14.4
Same	59.3	55.1	59.6	67.0	66.4	67.9	63.2
Worse	6.2	9.5	16.3	9.4	11.7	13.9	22.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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furthermore, a stronger need to alleviate anxieties produced from alienation or inability to keep up with modern society. But also in the smaller and more rural communities, we have stronger values for religion and familism and probably more use of these two areas of behavior for alleviating anxieties produced by modern societal pressures. Let us see now how all those conditions which we have discussed above and probably others not discussed here might balance each other and determine one's satisfaction with life. We assume here that normally in a free society as ours the individual can choose a style of life which would, under the circumstances, offer him the most satisfaction with life.

11. *Satisfaction with Life:* In spite of all the differences which exist among communities of different sizes, when it comes to overall satisfaction with life the differences between smaller and larger or more isolated and less isolated communities tend to disappear. But there are a few differences, however, which pertain to more specific aspects of life.

Nine out of ten respondents in the entire sample are in some ways satisfied with their jobs, and there are no differences among the seven types of communities we examine here. There are differences, however, when the comparison involves only those who are satisfied. In that case, Beckley, which is a relatively large town but isolated

Table 14
PROPORTION OF PERSONS SATISFIED WITH SELECTED ASPECTS OF THEIR LIFE*

	Charleston N=146	Morgantown N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N-246
% satisfied with their jobs	91.5	88.4	87.3	91.4	90.8	90.3	90.8
% satisfied with their ability to do things they want to do	86.7	83.5	85.3	89.6	89.2	85.6	94.0
% satisfied with their family life	97.2	96.9	96.0	99.1	96.1	96.6	95.1
% satisfied with life their community can offer	79.7	77.2	84.6	83.0	74.6	72.8	77.1
% satisfied with the kind of life the Appalachian Region can offer	66.0	70.4	80.8	82.1	66.9	68.4	73.1
% satisfied with their life in general	92.3	96.3	83.1	99.1	95.4	93.2	90.3
% satisfied with their overall economic condition	83.2	86.3	81.6	85.8	80.0	80.4	79.3
Life Satisfaction Scale							
High (Score 38-40)	67.6	59.5	65.7	71.4	65.4	59.7	66.0
Low (Score 7-37)	32.4	40.5	34.3	28.6	34.6	40.3	34.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*A satisfied respondent is one who has checked in the questionnaire as being very satisfied or simply satisfied as compared to the respondent who is not satisfied and has checked either as being not satisfied or not satisfied at all. Appendix 1 includes a table with more refined responses to questions included in this table.

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and without much industry, has the lowest proportion (about 14 per cent) of very satisfied respondents (see Appendix I). The corresponding proportions for Charleston and Raleigh County open country are about 44 and 40 per cent respectively.

The same is true when it comes to satisfaction with one's ability to do things which he more or less likes to do. There are no important differences among respondents of open country Raleigh County where in spite of physical and sociopsychological handicaps more or a similar proportion of respondents (85 per cent) are satisfied with their ability to do the things they want to do. The higher proportion among respondents from open country Raleigh County (about 30 per cent) as compared to other types of communities remains even when only those who are very satisfied with their ability to do the things they want to do are considered. But also, and as it was the case with the previous question, Beckley, which is also in Raleigh County, has the lowest proportion (about seven per cent) of respondnets who are very satisfied with their ability to do the things they would like to do.

There are also no important differences among the seven types of communities when it comes to satisfaction with family life. This is the aspect of life which has been checked more frequently in the categories of high satisfaction.

There are also no important differences in terms of satisfaction concerning the life one's community can offer. But again when it comes to the proportion of those who are very satisfied, Beckley has the lowest proportion (about seven per cent) of respondents who feel this way (see Appendix I). One might expect that people in smaller communities would be less satisfied with the kind of life their community can offer, but this is not the case because almost the same proportion of respondents are satisfied with what their community can offer in Charleston as they are in open country Raleigh County (Table 14). As a matter of fact there is a larger proportion of those who are very satisfied with their community in open country than in Charleston (see Appendix I).

Finally, looking at the Summary Score of the "Life Satisfaction Scale," which combines responses to all seven aspects of life, one can see that there are no important differences among the seven types of communities in terms of size of community. The lack of difference in satisfaction among West Virginians also exists when a similar type of analysis is followed in classifications involving West Virginians who live in the suburbs of Cleveland, West Virginians in the Appalachian ghetto of Cleveland, West Virginians who come back from migration, and West Virginians who never migrated.[16]

The lack of difference in satisfaction, either in terms of migration or community size, exists in spite of considerable differences among these groups in terms of income, level of living, education, physical health, and feelings of alienation from society. It is very probable that if there were no possibility of mobility, in other words, if migration from the small community to the city had not given some people a chance to move out of their small communities or out of Appalachia, the lack of differences in satisfaction would probably not exist. Because, although there is pressure to move to the city and remain there, either the pressure is not strong enough to make the majority of these people less satisfied with their lives or there are mechanisms such as attachment to religion or family which act as buffers. It is possible that a considerable number of people, in particular those living in small communities, feel that under the rules of the game they either have or had their chances but have chosen to do what they are doing now. Therefore, even when they have lower income or are alienated or have poor health, they feel relatively satisfied with their life under the circumstances.

12. Attitudes Toward Social Issues

In the first pages of this bulletin we indicated that a number of factors operate to make people of similar basic characteristics, such as beliefs, values and occupation, remain in a community of a particular size. Because of such basic attributes (regardless of how they are produced) and the type of interaction patterns which the factor community size *per se* produces, one should expect differences in attitudes and opinions among people living in various size communities.

(a) *Opinion About Welfare Programs:* One major area of concern today is the area of attitudes toward welfare. Table 15 includes five questions dealing with this. The summary scale at the bottom of Table 15 shows that the smaller the community, the more favorable the attitudes towards welfare programs. As a matter of fact there are only twice as many respondents with high scores in small towns and open country as compared with Charleston. The medium size towns of Morgantown and Beckley fall somewhere in the middle.

Only about 14 per cent of respondents from Charleston feel that "the Government should guarantee full employment and retirement income for everyone" (first question of Table 15). The corresponding proportion for respondents from Morgantown is about 32 per cent and the remaining communities over 43 per cent. There is less visible variation in terms of community size when it comes to the second statement of Table 15 that "social security unemployment insurance and other such welfare services tend to destroy initiative." Still, Charleston has the highest proportion of respondents who agree with the statement.

In spite of the fact that about half the respondents from all communities feel that welfare programs tend to destroy initiative, more than three out of four feel that these programs offer the security poor people need and they are a *must* in today's changing world, (fourth question of Table 15). Still, such attitudes are less favorable among respondents from Charleston as compared with the other communities and in particular in relation to the statement that welfare programs offer the security poor people need;

about 64 per cent of respondents from Charleston agree with this statement and about 92 per cent from Raleigh County.

There is less diversity, at least in relation to community size, when it comes to the statement that "public relief tens to hurt the American way of life" (fifth question of Table 15). About two thirds of the respondents feel this way, and both Charleston and open country Raleigh County, which usually show the greatest difference in either attitudes or other aspects of behavior, have the same proportion of respondents who agree with the statement (about 68 per cent.)

Table 15
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS OR OPINIONS ABOUT WELFARE PROGRAMS

% in Agreement* or Disagreement*	Charles-ton N=146	Morgan-town N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question:	The government should guarantee full employment and retirement income for everyone.						
Agreement	13.7%	31.8%	54.0%	44.8%	44.6%	43.2%	43.7%
Disagreement	86.3	68.2	46.0	55.2	55.4	56.8	56.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Social Security, unemployment, insurance and other such welfare services tend to destroy initiative.						
Agreement	62.0	43.5	59.2	43.9	47.7	44.9	51.6
Disagreement	38.0	56.5	40.8	56.1	52.3	55.1	48.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Social Security, unemployment insurance, and other such welfare services offer the security poor people need.						
Agreement	64.4	75.6	83.3	81.3	73.1	82.6	92.4
Disagreement	35.6	24.4	16.7	18.7	26.9	17.4	7.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Social Security, unemployment insurance, and other such welfare services are a must in today's changing world.						
Agreement	83.3	78.7	91.1	83.1	85.2	81.5	91.8
Disagreement	16.7	21.3	8.9	16.9	14.8	18.5	8.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Public relief hurts the American way of life.						
Agreement	63.7	48.4	78.7	48.6	58.5	52.9	63.2
Disagreement	36.3	51.6	21.3	51.4	41.5	47.1	36.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total:	Attitudes Toward Welfare Services Scale.						
High	29.9	45.0	44.0	63.6	55.5	55.7	62.4
Low	70.1	55.0	56.0	36.4	44.5	44.3	37.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Combines strong, moderate, and slight intensity of agreement or disagreement.

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(b) *Reasons Why Some People Remain in Poverty:* The perception of reasons for someone else's behavior often reflect an underlying predisposition of the individual himself. Table 16 includes some possible explanations as to reasons why some people remain in poverty in spite of all available programs and opportunities. The majority of respondents for all communities feels that those in poverty "are satisfied with their present way of life and therefore are not interested in changing things." In the city of Beckley and in Charleston more than three fourths of the respondents feel this way. In towns of this size, on the other hand, people are more educated, and normally more broadminded, and have a better understanding of the social situation. But even those in open country Raleigh County, which includes a considerable number of respondents who live in poverty, feel this way. The first and fourth questions of Table 16 suggest that people remain in poverty because "the jobs which are available and the places where they are located discourage them from trying hard" have the highest proportion of respondents who agree with the statement. In other words, most respondents feel that these people are used to poverty and that therefore it does not bother them to remain there. Or they feel that for a number of people who are in poverty more worthwhile jobs are the answer; the latter feel that it does not pay to go through the pains of an undesirable job, which is associated with the concept of relative deprivation, implying that for the amount of effort required the rewards are not comparable with those of others. For this particular purpose these others are the ones used as reference groups. White protestants of the urban lower middle or upper lower class are more and more in recent years used as such reference groups by rural Appalachians.

The question, however, which shows the most striking differences in relation to size is the last one indicating that the reason for remaining in poverty is that the health of many welfare people is poor. About 31 per cent of the respondents in open country Raleigh County feel this way and only about four percent in Charleston. Raleigh County, on the other hand, has the largest proportion of respondents who have indicated that their health is poor, while Charleston has the lowest. Open country also has the largest proportion of respondents who feel that welfare people remain on welfare because they don't like to work. Depth interviews which followed the present empirical survey showed that in open country Raleigh County, it was easier than in the other types of communities for interviewees to come up with names of people who they thought had no reason to collect welfare. Such depth interviews also revealed that in open country Raleigh County, besides the ability of respondents to point out more easily both people who they thought did not like to work but collected welfare, there were also considerable more than in other communities of gainfully employed respondents with more strongly negative attitudes against those physically able who collected welfare, than in other communities.

(c) *Opinions About Education:* Census data indicate that larger communities in West Virginia have larger proportions of residents with more education. This is not the case, however, for attitudes towards education and formal education in particular. Attitudes towards education are measured on the basis of responses to four statements discussed below. Our present data show that, at least for West Virginia, there is no relationship between community size and overall attitudes (as measured here) towards education. There are differences, however, when it comes to responses to individual statements

Table 17 shows that the smaller the community, the more the respondents feel that "High school courses are too impractical." About 50 per cent of the respondents in open country Raleigh County and only about 30 per cent of respondents from Charleston who feel this way. The opposite is true concerning a statement suggesting "Our schools encourage an individual to think for himself" (statement not presented in the table). In this case respondents from the three larger centers agree less often with the statement as compared to those from smaller communities. As a matter of fact fewer than 20 per cent of respondents in each of the three larger communities agree with the statement as compared with open country Raleigh County, where about 36 per cent of the respondents feel this way. It is quite possible that small towners, although they feel that education should be more practical, also feel more strongly than those of larger towns that formal education increases one's perception and enables him to make better judgments in life. On the other hand, it is also possible that those from larger centers, in larger numbers than small towners, feel that in certain respects formal education narrows a person's vision. This is probably why, small towners, who probably see education more as a means of securing a livelihood, are more dissatisfied with the practicality of high school courses.

Another statement that reveals that small towners tend to have a less favorable opinion as compared with those from larger centers is that "Most young people are getting too much education" (second question of Table 17). This in turn is the statement which the majority of respondents (about nine out of ten) disagree with.

The fourth question which was used to measure attitudes towards education, suggesting that "A man can learn more by working four years than by going to high school," differentiates the seven types of communities less than the previous three questions. Still, a larger proportion of respondents from Charleston and Morgantown (74 and about 63 per cent respectively) disagree with the statement as compared with open country Raleigh County where the corresponding proportion is 58 per cent.

These data then suggest that in spite of significant differences in terms of formal education between larger and smaller communities, differences in general attitudes toward education (the way these attitudes are measured here) almost do not exist. Looking at these data in the light of

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Table 16
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON REASONS WHY SOME PEOPLE REMAIN IN POVERTY

Degree of Agreement or Disagreement	Charles-ton N=146	Morgan-town N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question:	Are satisfied with their present way of life and therefore are not too interested in changing things.						
1st and 2nd choice	74.7	58.5	80.7	64.1	65.4	59.3	56.3
3rd and No choice	25.3	41.5	19.3	35.9	34.6	40.7	43.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Believe that the fate of a person is predetermined and will not change things much.						
1st and 2nd choice	16.5	12.5	9.6	17.0	13.8	8.9	15.2
3rd and No choice	83.5	87.5	90.4	83.0	86.2	91.1	84.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	They do not like to work.						
1st and 2nd choice	27.4	24.5	26.0	28.3	20.8	29.3	38.3
3rd and No choice	72.6	75.5	74.0	71.7	79.2	70.7	61.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Believe that work takes too much effort in a man's life.						
1st and 2nd choice	13.7	8.2	9.7	14.1	9.3	9.7	8.2
3rd and No choice	86.3	91.8	90.3	85.9	90.7	90.3	91.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	The kinds of jobs which are available and the places where they are located discourage them from trying hard.						
1st and 2nd choice	36.3	45.9	57.7	51.9	55.3	61.9	56.1
3rd and No choice	63.7	54.1	42.3	48.1	44.7	38.1	63.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Their health is poor						
1st and 2nd choice	4.1	13.8	8.7	9.4	18.5	10.6	31.1
3rd and No choice	95.9	86.2	91.3	90.6	81.5	89.4	68.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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Table 17
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS DEALING WITH OPINIONS ABOUT EDUCATION

% in agreement or disagreement	Charles-ton N=146	Morgan-town N=150	Beckley N=103	Keyser N=107	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co. N=130	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co. N=236	Open Contr. Raleigh Co. N=246
Question:	High school courses are too impractical.						
Agreement	29.9	37.8	39.2	36.8	41.1	45.3	50.0
Disagreement	70.1	62.2	60.8	63.2	58.9	54.7	50.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question:	Most young people are getting too much education.						
Agreement	6.8	10.1	4.9	11.2	11.5	11.4	11.2
Disagreement	93.2	89.9	95.1	88.8	88.5	88.6	88.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Combines strong, moderate, and slight intensity of agreement or disagreement.

this bulletin and in line with studies conducted elsewhere in Appalachia,[17] we could suggest that formal education is seen as an important mechanism for fulfilling societal expectations. But what these data also show is that people in small towns probably rely more on education as the means for raising their children's status and for becoming full members of the mass society.

Furthermore, the function of education in this respect can be seen from two different points of view. First, it can be seen in terms of the preparation of new members for understanding the complexity of the new society and culture. This need is more pronounced in Appalachia, rural in particular, as compared to other parts of the country, for the simple reason that rural Appalachia has more catching up to do, and it is pressured more by both internal and external forces to do so. Second, the function of education can be seen as a means of social, occupational and in turn, economic achievement. Formal education, then, is seen as a means of responding to societal demands for higher income and level of living, which are the themes of the American culture.

(d) *Opinions About Taxes:* There has been a noticeable trend in recent years in the growth of importance of publicly provided services. Furthermore it has become apparent, more so in recent years, that although many of the vital public services can be provided most efficiently by state and local governments, the tax revenue sources available at these levels are inadequate to meet present and projected future need. Expansion of publicly provided services, however, is possible only if larger amounts of revenue are collected by government. The present data show that attitudes for an increase or decrease in taxes are closely associated with community size. Table 18 is taken out of a previous study of these same data, and deals with attitudes toward state and local taxes presented for five types of communities instead of seven, as is the case of the previous tables.[18]

Table 18 shows that people living in communities of less than a thousand inhabitants are much more in favor of a decrease in taxes than for an increase. As a matter of fact, in communities of this size there are over eleven times as many people who want a decrease in taxes, as compared to those who want an increase. This is the case for both state and local taxes. The corresponding proportion for the larger communities is in most cases less than two to one.

In all five types of communities the proportion of those who like to see an increase in taxes drastically changes when respondents were asked to respond to the same question, but knowing that taxes were spent only the way they wanted them spent (Table 19). Among people living in communities of less than a thousand the proportion of those who would like an increase in taxes, either state or local, more than tripled as compared to the proportion shown in Table 18. At the same time the proportion of those who wanted a decrease in either state or local taxes is reduced close to half of the proportion shown in Table 18.

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Table 18
OPINIONS OF VARIOUS SIZE GROUPS CONCERNING INCREASE OR DECREASE IN STATE AND LOCAL TAXES

	State Taxes Should Be:*			Local Taxes Should Be:*		
Size of Town	Increased or Slightly Increased	Remain the Same	Decreased or Slightly Decreased	Increased or Slightly Increased	Remain the Same	Decreased or Slightly Decreased
Open Country	4.5	41.8	53.7	3.0	44.8	52.2
Up to 1,000	4.4	42.7	52.9	3.9	45.4	50.7
1,000-25,000	19.2	38.4	42.5	20.5	35.6	43.8
Morgantown	24.0	46.8	29.2	27.3	45.5	27.3
Charleston	18.6	48.6	32.9	24.3	50.7	25.0

*Percentages totaled horizontally and separately for state and local taxes.

What is noticeable in Table 19 as compared to Table 18 is that the shift in opinions is much more drastic among those living in communities of less than a thousand people. In other words, people in very small communities are much more interested in decreases in taxes and furthermore are less satisfied with the way tax money is spent. People in the small communities on the other hand, as we previously indicated, mistrust government officials more than those of larger communities.

Table 19
OPINIONS OF VARIOUS SIZE GROUPS CONCERNING INCREASE OR DECREASE OF STATE AND LOCAL TAXES IF TAXES WERE SPENT THE WAY THE RESPONDENTS WANTED

	State Taxes Should Be:*			Local Taxes Should Be:*		
Size of Town	Increased or Slightly Increased	Remain the Same	Decreased or Slightly Decreased	Increased or Slightly Increased	Remain the Same	Decreased or Slightly Decreased
Open Country	14.3	58.7	27.0	14.5	59.7	25.8
Up to 1,000	19.7	42.6	37.7	20.4	43.1	36.5
1,000-25,000	61.1	26.4	12.5	61.1	27.8	11.1
Morgantown	34.0	50.7	15.3	33.8	50.0	16.2
Charleston	51.4	36.0	12.6	51.8	37.3	10.9

*Percentages totaled horizontally and separately for state and local taxes.

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Appendix I

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON LIFE SATISFACTION

Degree of Satisfaction	Charles-ton	Morgan-town	Beckley	Keyser	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co.	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co.	Open Contr. Raleigh Co.
Question: How satisfied with the kind of job you have now, or in case you are unemployed, the kind of job you usually find.							
Very satisfied	44.4	39.0	13.7	40.0	31.6	28.0	39.7
Satisfied	47.2	49.6	73.5	51.4	59.2	62.3	51.1
Not satisfied	5.6	8.9	10.8	6.7	7.7	5.9	7.1
Not at all satisfied	2.8	2.5	2.0	1.9	1.5	3.8	2.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question: How satisfied with your ability to do things which you more or less would like to do.							
Very satisfied	23.1	25.3	6.9	25.5	20.8	15.7	29.8
Satisfied	63.6	58.2	78.4	64.2	68.4	69.9	54.9
Not satisfied	11.9	13.3	11.8	8.5	10.0	12.7	11.6
Not at all satisfied	1.4	3.2	2.9	1.8	0.8	1.7	3.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question: How satisfied with your family life.							
Very satisfied	59.2	53.7	29.7	64.2	46.5	50.0	54.3
Satisfied	38.0	43.2	66.3	34.9	49.6	46.6	40.7
Not satisfied	2.8	2.5	2.9	0.9	1.6	3.4	2.1
Not at all satisfied	0.0	0.6	2.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	2.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question: How satisfied with the kind of life your community can offer.							
Very satisfied	21.0	22.8	6.7	17.0	10.0	15.3	26.9
Satisfied	58.7	54.4	77.9	66.0	64.6	57.5	50.2
Not satisfied	15.4	18.4	12.5	16.1	20.8	23.4	17.6
Not at all satisfied	4.9	4.4	2.9	0.9	4.6	3.8	5.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question: How satisfied with the kind of life the Appalachian Region can offer.							
Very satisfied	14.6	15.8	6.7	12.3	13.1	12.8	20.0
Satisfied	51.4	54.7	74.0	69.8	53.8	55.6	53.1
Not satisfied	24.3	23.6	18.3	15.1	22.3	25.6	22.4
Not at all satisfied	9.7	5.9	1.0	2.8	10.8	6.0	4.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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Degree of Satisfaction	Charleston	Morgantown	Beckley	Keyser	Sml. Twn. Min.-Hard. Co.	Open Contr. Min.-Hard. Co.	Open Contr. Raleigh Co.
Question: How satisfied with your life in general.							
Very satisfied	35.2	31.9	10.8	33.0	28.5	23.3	30.4
Satisfied	57.0	64.4	82.3	66.1	66.9	69.9	59.9
Not satisfied	7.1	3.1	4.9	0.9	3.8	5.5	6.9
Not at all satisfied	0.7	0.6	2.0	0.9	0.8	1.3	2.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Question: How satisfied with your overall economic position.							
Very satisfied	23.1	18.1	17.9	17.9	13.8	8.5	22.4
Satisfied	60.1	68.2	67.9	67.9	66.2	71.9	56.9
Not satisfied	15.4	10.6	13.3	13.3	15.4	12.4	17.9
Not at all satisfied	1.4	3.1	0.9	0.9	4.6	7.2	2.8
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total: Life Satisfaction Scale							
High	54.9	45.9	47.1	52.4	46.5	42.9	48.4
Medium	29.6	43.3	40.2	38.1	40.1	43.3	37.3
Low	15.5	10.8	12.7	9.5	13.4	13.8	14.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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FOOTNOTES

[1]One may probably assume that there is a close similarity between the complex trait type of analysis, which we described previously, and the analysis on the basis of a continuum. This is the case because if you were to examine a trait in relation to your problematic variable, then if the problematic variable would vary, so the variable related to it would vary. The main difference, however, in this third type of analysis is that the problematic variable is itself a continuum. An obvious requirement for this type of analysis is that the characteristics we are tracing, as well as the problematic variable, should be variables. In other words, if one characteristic or trait appears only in most rural communities, or in the most urban ones, or if it appears only in the medium size rural communities, then this is not the type of variable which one should use for and analysis of communities on the basis of the rural-urban continuum.

[2]For a description of ideal type rural communities see Redfield, Robert "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, volume LII, Number 4, January, 1947, pp. 297-308.

[3]John Photiadis, "West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland, Ohio." Appalachian Center Research Report Number 3. West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia, 1970.

[4]John Photiadis, *Ibid.*

[5]These figures indicate community size before the 1970 census.

[6]See John Photiadis, "Community Size and Aspects of the Authoritarian Personality," *Rural Sociology*, Volume 32, Number 1, March, 1967.

[7]For a more detailed description of the measurement of "ways of life preference" see *Change in Rural Appalachia*, John Photiadis and Harry Schwartzweller (editors), Chapter 1, University of Pennsylvania, 1970.

[8]John Photiadis, "Overt Conformity to Church Teaching as a Function of Religious Belief and Group Participation," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LXX, No. 4, Jan. 1965.

[9]For a relevant discussion on means several Appalachians use to alleviate anxieties produced by some society, etc., see Richard Ball, "The Southern Appalachian Folk Sub-culture on a Tension Reducing Life," in John Photiadis and Harry Swartzweller, "Social Change in Appalachia," Chapter 4, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970. Also in the same book see John Photiadis, "New Aims for Programs of Directed Change," Chapter 15.

[10]For a description of the scale that measures bewilderment and confusion, see John Photiadis, "West Virginians and Their Own State and in Clevelend, Ohio, 1970," Division of Personal and Family Development, Research Report No. 3, Appalachian Center, West Virginia University.

[11]John Photiadis, "Social Integration of Businessmen in Varied Size Communities," *Social Forces*, Vol. 46, No. 2, December, 1967.

[12]John Photiadis and Harry Schwartzweller, Editors, "Change in Rural Appalachia – Implications for Action Programs," University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970, p. 124.

[13]Richard Ball, "Social Change and Power Structure–An Appalachian Case," in John Photiadis and Harry Schwerzweller, "Change in Rural Appalachia–Implications for Action Programs," University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970, pp. 147-166.

[14]Migration Bulletin.

[15]For a discussion on the role of these mechanisms in helping the individual cope with modern complexity, see Richard Ball, "The Southern Appalachian Folk Sub-culture as a Tension Reducing Way of Life," in John Photiadis and Harry Schwertzweller, Editors, "Change in Rural Appalachian Implications for Action Programs," University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970, pp. 69-80.

[16]John Photiadis, "West Virginians in Their Own State and in Cleveland, Ohio, Division of Personal and Family Development, Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, Research Report No. 3, 1970, pp. 174-188.

[17]See Harry K. Schwartzweller and James S. Brown, "Education as a Cultural Bridge Between Eastern Kentucky and the Great Society," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 27, No. 4, December, 1962.

[18]John Photiadis and Frederic Zeller, Research Series No. 6, Office of Research and Development, Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, 1969. Beckley, Kayser, and towns over 1,000 in population have been combined under one category of 1,000 to 25,000.

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